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THE JEWS IN PORTUGAL

FROM 1773 TO 1902.

THE authors who have dealt with the history of Judaism in Portugal are very sparing of information on the events which took place in that country from the last years of the eighteenth century onwards. Thus we should seek in vain in most standard works the exact date of the suppression of the well-known Inquisitions of Lisbon, Evora and Coimbra.

As to the present situation, it is absolutely unknown.

Such gaps should be filled up, and this is what I propose to do as briefly as possible.

I shall explain in succession the history of the Inquisition in Portugal from 1773, the present situation of the last of the Marranos in that country, and the chronicles of the Portuguese Synagogues from 1801 to 1902.

I.

Reform and Suppression of the Inquisition.

Contrary to the statement of the principal historian of the Portuguese Jews¹, the earthquake of 1755, while destroying the Inquisitorial prisons of Lisbon, by no means did away with the Holy Office. The institution was quickly re-established², and many unfortunate persons

¹ M. Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal* (Leipzig, 1867, 8°), Cap. IX, 5, 334 : "Bei dem Erdbeben, das am 1. November 1755 Lissabon zerstörte, schwand auch das Inquisitionsgebäude von der Erde."

² Carlos José de Menezes, *A Inquisição em Portugal* (Porto, 1898, 2 vol. 8°), vol. I, p. 220.

were again forced to endure the tortures of the Inquisition.

Nevertheless the catastrophe of 1755 had one surprising result; there arose from the midst of the ruins a man who by his prodigious activity and his sometimes brutal energy was destined to effect the most important reforms in Portugal; this man, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello, has remained famous under the name of Marquis de Pombal. It has been asserted that he was of Jewish origin¹; the statement is only probable, but it is at least very certain that he engaged personally and with much zeal in ameliorating the lot of the *Christãos Novos* (New Christians), descendants of the Jews converted by force² in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

In the private archives of the Marquis de Pombal³ are found all the documents used in the drawing up of the laws which abolished in practice the power of the Inquisitors over the New Christians.

It is not without emotion that we see a note in the hand of the minister of Dom José I⁴, proving that from Sep-

¹ A story is in fact told that, the king having expressed a desire that the descendants of Jews should be obliged to wear yellow hats, Pombal presented himself with three of these hats. When questioned by the king, the marquis replied: "I have one hat for myself, one for the Grand Inquisitor, and one in case your Majesty should wish to cover your head." *Archives Israélites*, 1847, p. 858; Lindo, *History of the Jews of Spain and Portugal* (London, 1848, 8°), p. 375; Fred. Dav. Mocatta, *The Jews of Spain and Portugal and the Inquisition* (London, 1877-80), p. 97, and other authors. This story is not reliable. The witticism of Pombal had already been attributed to the famous Duke of Alba. Cf. Pedro Joseph Suppico, *Apophthegmas memoráveis*, l. 1, p. 191 (Lisboa, 1720, 8°).

² They are the Marranos in Spain, the Chuetas in the Balearics, the *anusim* of the Rabbis. The word *marrano* does not seem to have the Hebrew origin which is often attributed to it. It is merely a term of insult; *marrano* (in Portuguese, *marrão*) meant *pig*, long before it had been used to name the Jews.

³ Bibliotheca Nacional of Lisbon, *Collecção Pombalina*, MS. 641, fo^o. 276, 336 et seq.; MS. 649, fo^o. 21, 33, 34, 42, 45, 54, 132, &c.

⁴ *Ibid.*, MS. 649, fo^o. 139, the figures above seem to come from a note of Salvador Soares Cotrim (fo^o. 54); they are found again without variation,

tember 20, 1540—the date of the first regular *auto da fé* at Lisbon—to 1732, a total number of 24,522 victims is obtained, of whom 1,454 were burnt. They may be classified as follows:—

	Variously sentenced.	Burnt	
		In person.	In effigy.
Lisbon .	6,262	6	132
Coimbra .	8,138	335	159
Evora .	8,668	331	131

Pombal thought that there had been enough victims, and assuming a purely political attitude, he gave the king to understand that the Inquisition was very detrimental to the reputation of Portugal in foreign countries and to the economic prosperity of the kingdom. Had not the New Christians, who had escaped from Portugal, largely contributed to the commercial development of the markets of Bordeaux, London, Amsterdam, Altona, and other towns?

At last, on May 2, 1768, the king ordered the suppression of the lists containing the names of the New Christians. These lists were very inaccurate, and served the purposes of private revenge¹.

Pombal took advantage of the first opportunity of improving still more the condition of the New Christians, who were debarred from public office and constantly disturbed in their commercial pursuits.

A certain Jean Gaspar Lyder, son of a native of Prague and of Barbara Kulerin, a lady of Vienna, woman-in-waiting to Queen Dona Mariana, had been appointed judge at Fundão. He was required to prove the "purity" of his blood. He appealed; all the official commissions, including

in the speeches delivered against the Inquisition in 1821 (*Diário das Cortes da Nação Portuguesa*), vol. I, February 8, 1821, p. 63, speeches of Ferrão, and in numerous publications; e.g. in the *História de Portugal* of Oliveira Martins, vol. II, l. vi, 5, pp. 156–7 (Lisboa, second edition, 1880, 8°, 2 vols.).

¹ *Alvará de lei sobre as fntas dos Christãos Novos*, 2 de maio de 1768.

the Council of State (May 24, 1773), were consulted, although the decision of the general Council of the Holy Office had to be accepted (April 20, 1773). It was the general opinion that such inquiries ought to be abolished and, at the same time, every distinction between Old and New Christians¹.

On May 25, 1773, Dom José I signed the law of the general constitution and perpetual edict abolishing for ever all difference of treatment between his subjects, whatever their origin². Pombal hastened to publish the document and even a Latin translation³; he made the mistake, however, of declaring that the Jesuits alone were guilty of having invented the opprobrious name of "New Christian," a name dating from long before the foundation of the Society of Jesus, often itself persecuted by the Portuguese Inquisition⁴.

On September 1, 1774, appeared a new law concerning the Inquisition of Portugal, depriving it, in theory, of all its tyrannical and arbitrary character.

The Holy Office persevered none the less in persecuting now and then a certain number of descendants of Jews. The Inquisitors still found it profitable to confiscate the goods of those who were condemned, when it was possible.

A new law (December 15, 1774) dealt with this by forbidding all confiscation in the case of accused persons who

¹ Every fact concerning the preparation of the laws of May 25, 1773, September 1, and December 15, 1774, has been taken from the MSS. of Pombal (mentioned above), No. 649.

² *Collecção das leys, decretos e alvaras que comprehende o feliz reinado del Rey Fidelissimo Dom José o I* (Lisboa, in fo., vols. II and III). Each law or decree is found at its date.

³ *Litterae Josephi I Lusitanorum regis Fidelissimi, legem quidem generalis constitutionis et edicti perpetui complectentes, pro abolenda et extinguenda odiosa Novorum Christianorum et Veterum Christianorum distinctione ab annis 1500, et amplius, pessimis et seditiosissimis consiliis in Lusitaniam invecata, denominatorum Jesuitarum opera.* (Olispone, 1773, in. 12 p. 38.)

⁴ On the antagonism of the Jesuits and the Inquisition, cf. Oliveira Martins, *Historia de Portugal*, vol. II, l. vi, 5, p. 157, who proves the fact, expressing, however, an opinion which may be questioned.

became reconciled to the Church by a confession, more or less sincere.

From this time the Inquisition was disarmed, being unwilling to abandon itself to unproductive labours, and the descendants of the Jews lived almost undisturbed. The Holy Office occupied itself with Protestants and Freemasons, "reconciling" from time to time some indiscreet person of Jewish blood. But the Holy Office was decaying, and there were no more pyres in the public streets¹.

When the French entered Portugal under Napoleon, they found the Holy Office still in existence there². On December 8, 1807, the Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon published a pastoral letter urging the people to submit to the French army, for "this army," said the prelate, "is that of his Majesty, the Emperor and King of Italy, Napoleon the Great, to whom God has entrusted the support and protection of the Religion, and who is destined to make the happiness of Nations." Twelve days after (December 22) another pastoral letter appeared, unreservedly approving of that of the patriarch; it was issued by "Dom José Maria de Mello, titular Bishop of Algarve, Inquisitor-General." Cowardice so great was to have its reward. On February 1, 1808, Junot, the marshal of France, published in a proclamation that the Catholic religion was to be protected, "but freed from the superstitions which disfigure it."

¹ Carlos José de Menezes, loc. cit., vol. II, p. 188. The last *autos da fé* thus took place on October 11, 1778, at Lisbon; on August 26, 1781, at Coimbra; and on September 16, 1781, at Evora. These *autos* are mentioned neither by Dr. R. Gottheil in his fine article in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. II, p. 342, nor by Mr. E. N. Adler in his copious articles on *autos* of Portugal, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, XIV, p. 718, probably because there were no Jews among the victims. For Dr. Gottheil, the last Portuguese *auto* is that of October 18, 1739, at Lisbon; and for Mr. Adler, that of December 18, 1767, in the same town.

² The documents concerning the French occupation are obtained from the *Collecção de decretos editaes, &c.* (Lisboa, 1808), numbered 7-11, l. 30, in the British Museum.

A second decree of the same date annexed Portugal to the French Empire.

Finally, by a third decree of the same date, "all the gold and silver of all the churches, chapels and brotherhoods of the town of Lisbon" were confiscated, with the exception of "the silver vessels necessary for the seemliness of worship." Moreover, the French governor installed himself with his staff in the very palace of the Inquisition of Lisbon¹. This storm quickly passed over, thanks to the Anglo-Portuguese alliance. The French were driven out and all was as before. From time to time voices were raised against the Inquisition. On the death of the Grand Inquisitor, José de Mello, João Bernardo da Rocha, a Portuguese who had established a newspaper in London², declared that this was "a good opportunity of abolishing this odious office." The revolutionary government of 1820 was unwilling—though the contrary has been stated³—to abolish the Holy Office hastily. A decree⁴ of September 21, 1820, ordered, as a first step, that a list should be made of the prisoners of the Inquisition, in order that "the scandal for Justice and Humanity resulting from the arbitrary detention of prisoners" should be abolished.

In the meanwhile, the provisional government held its sessions in the Palace of the Holy Office at Lisbon⁵.

During the session of February 5, 1821, deputy Margiochi proposed a law⁶ to the effect that the tribunals of the Inquisition should be abolished, their spiritual power given to the bishops, their archives deposited in the manuscript room of the National Library of Lisbon⁷, their

¹ Carlos José de Menezes, loc. cit., vol. I, p. 221.

² *O Portuguez ou Mercurio politico*, vol. VIII (1818), No. 47, p. 395.

³ J. Augusto d'Oliveira Mascarenhas, *A Inquisição em Portugal* (Lisboa, 1899, in. 32), p. 50. It is a little book of no historical value and purely declamatory.

⁴ *Collecção geral e curiosa de todos os documentos officiaes e historicos publicados por occasião da Regeneração desde 24 de agosto*, Lisboa, 1820, 4°.

⁵ Carlos José de Menezes, loc. cit., vol. I, p. 221.

⁶ *Diario das Cortes geraes da Nação portugueza*, 1821, vol. I, pp. 44-5.

⁷ This proposal was not carried out.

property transferred to the State, and their officers reduced to pensions equal to one-half of their salaries. On February 8, deputy Ferrão de Mendonça¹ added the following proposal: "That all the foolish and barbarous statutes about sorcery and Judaism, and others which have made 23,068 accused persons mount the scaffold in a dress of infamy, and have caused 1,454 of them to be burnt, thus dishonouring so many thousands of families of all classes, shall be burnt on a scaffold in the Rocio Street², and that this last *auto da fé* shall reduce them to ashes." It is fortunate for history that this proposal did not become law.

The last cry of the Inquisition was a request for money. Its officers had to receive payment. One of the deputies, the inquisitor Castello Branco, on March 24, asked his colleagues not to forget that the Inquisition was a State institution, a regular and legal body, and that it had a staff whose long services (?) could not be passed over. He added, however, "As a representative of the people, I vote for the abolition of the Holy Office, which I consider to be useless and incompatible with the enlightenment of the age³." I think that it is unnecessary after this to report the discussion⁴—was it a discussion?—of the Margiochi proposal, which was unanimously passed on March 31, 1821, and transformed into a decree the same day⁵. The Inquisition had at last ceased to exist in Portugal. I think, however, that a few words on the final settlement of this tribunal may be of interest. At

¹ *Diario das Cortes*, vol. I, p. 63. See p. 256, note 6. It must not be forgotten that of the 1,454 burnt, 422 were burnt in effigy, either because they had escaped, or because they had died before the *autos*.

² The Palace of the Inquisition was in this street.

³ *Diario das Cortes*, vol. I, p. 356.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 356 et seq. Manuel Borges Carneiro took an important part in it; he published at this time an *Appendice* [*ao Portugal regenerado*] *sobre as operações da Sancta Inquisição Portuguesa* (Lisboa, November 20, 1820, 8°, p. 8), published under the pseudonym of D. C. N. Publicola.

⁵ *Diario das Cortes*, vol. I, pp. 404 and 421.

Coimbra¹ and at Evora, the people invaded the Palaces of the Inquisition without waiting for any authorization, but at Lisbon, a law proposed by the deputy Ferrão, ordered (September 27, 1821) that the prisons should be opened to the public².

The following is the description of the proceedings which was given at the time in England³ and which seems accurate:—

“On the 8th inst. the palace of the Holy Office was opened to the people. The number which crowded to see it during the first four days, rendered it extremely difficult and even dangerous to attempt an entrance. The edifice is extensive and has the form of an oblong square, with a garden in the centre. It is three stories high and has several vaulted galleries, along which are situated a number of dungeons, of six, seven, eight, and nine feet square. Those on the ground floor and in the first story have no windows, and are deprived of both air and light when the door is shut. The dungeons on the next storey have a kind of breathing-hole in the form of a chimney through which the sky may be seen. These apartments were allotted to prisoners, who, it was supposed, might be set at liberty. In the vaulted wall of each dungeon there is a hole of about an inch in diameter which communicates with a secret corridor running along by each tier of dungeons. By these means, the agents of the Inquisition could at any moment observe the conduct of the prisoners without being seen by them; and when two persons were confined in the same dungeon, could hear their conversation. In these corridors were seats so placed, that a spy could observe what was passing in two dungeons, by merely turning his eyes from right to left, in order to

¹ On April 10 the instruments of torture were burnt by the people at Coimbra. Carlos José de Menezes, *A Inquisição em Portugal*, vol. II, p. 304.

² *Diário das Cortes*, vol. III, pp. 1867 and 2432.

³ *Annual Register of the year 1821* (London, 1822, 8°), Chronicle, pp. 157–8; it is a translation of the *Courrier Français*.

look into either of the holes between which he might be stationed. Human skulls and other bones were found in the dungeons. On the walls of these frightful holes are carved the names of some of the unfortunate victims buried in them, accompanied with lines or notches, indicating the number of days of their captivity. One name had beside it the date of 1809. The doors of certain dungeons, which had not been used for some years, still remained shut, but the people soon forced them open. In nearly all of them, human bones were found, and among these melancholy remains were, in one dungeon, fragments of the garment of a monk, and his girdle. In some of these dungeons, the chimney-shaped air-hole was walled up, which is a certain sign of the murder of the prisoner. In such cases, the unfortunate victim was compelled to go into the air-hole, the lower extremity of which was immediately closed by masonry. Quicklime was afterwards thrown down on him, which extinguished life and destroyed the body. In several of these dens of misery, mattresses were found, some of them old, others almost new,—a circumstance which proves, whatever may be said to the contrary, that the Inquisition in these latter times was something more than a scarecrow."

It appears that the visit of the people did not take place without some disturbance. According to a discussion which was held in the Cortes (October 10, 1821), the people showed themselves dissatisfied with the attitude of the wardens; they demanded that the instruments of torture should be produced. A deputy appeared and declared that it was "long" since these instruments of torture had been in existence¹. In their rage, the people pulled down and dragged along the streets of Lisbon the statue of Faith, which stood on the principal side of the Palace².

¹ *Diario das Cortes*, vol. III, p. 2588. In the Archaeological Museum of the Carmo at Lisbon, a whip from the inquisitorial prisons(?) of this town is shown, No. 2478 on the catalogue.

² Carlos José de Menezes, *A Inquisição*, vol. II, p. 306.

December 31, 1821, the prisons were finally closed¹. A deputy, Fernandez Thomas, demanded their demolition² and the erection on their site of a stone, bearing the following inscription:—"An eternal curse on every Portuguese who shall not hold in everlasting horror this invention of Hell." The stone was not set up, but a decree of April 22, 1822, ordered the partial destruction of the prisons of Evora and Coimbra and the total destruction of those of Lisbon³. On the site of these last the Dona Maria theatre stands at the present day.

Thus ended the Inquisition of Portugal, after an existence of nearly three centuries.

II.

The Last Marranos.

Although the name of Marranos has not been generally applied in Portugal to the descendants of Jews baptised by force, I will use it because it has become a generic term in every country. I am anxious, however, that it should be observed that the name of *Christãos Novos*, or New Christians, alone was used by the Portuguese Inquisition. As to the people, after making use of the expression *tornadiço* (weathercock), they early fell back on the name of *Judeu* or Jew. This is the name commonly given in Portugal to every individual who is notoriously of Jewish origin.

Since the law of May 25, 1773, the descendants of baptised Jews have been legally put on the same footing as the other Portuguese. But, practically, their fusion with the rest of the population has taken many years. Liberty, however, has done much more for this close union than all the measures taken by the Inquisition. On the one side, the Catholic population did not care to marry

¹ *Diario das Cortes*, vol. III, p. 3428.

² *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 2710, sessão 18 de outubro.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 701.

into families of Jewish origin, which the Holy Office closely watched and often imprisoned without any other real end than the confiscation of their property. On the other side, the persecution urged on the victims, gave them knowledge of their origin, inspired them with a real hatred for a religion in the name of which the Inquisition acted, though without respect for the true Christian doctrine. Forced to have all the appearances of Catholicism, the Marranos made up for this constraint by practising the Mosaic Law secretly. Naturally, many of the rites prescribed were impossible, circumcision, for instance. But it was possible to pray, fast, observe the festivals fairly well. This is what the Marranos did.

I have collected from the trials of the Portuguese Inquisition, a large number of prayers recited by the New Christians; they are a mixture of the Jewish and the Catholic rituals. I intend to make a special study of them. Moreover, these trials are anterior to 1774.

Some of the traditional prayers have been preserved among the descendants of the Marranos. I will only quote one here. It is still recited among the New Christians¹, and its Jewish character is undeniable.

"Sabbado! Sabbado! Sabbado santo! venhas com os Anjos; os Anjos nos acompanhem; acompanhem a minha alma, quando d'este mundo fôr.

*Sabbado! Sabbado! Moses! Moses! os Anjos vos dirão:
Ao Sabbado nada farás, só te occuparás em louvar ao Senhor. Amen!"*

This prayer² assumes the observation of the Sabbath rest,

¹ It was dictated to me with many others, on June 1, 1902, at Lisbon, by M. Candido Caetano Vas, in the presence of MM. Leão Amzalak and A. Anahory, members of the Jewish Committee of that town.

² The following is the translation:—"Sabbath! Sabbath! Holy Sabbath! Come with the Angels; may the Angels accompany us, may they accompany my soul when it passes away from this world. Sabbath! Sabbath! Moses! Moses! the Angels will tell you: On the Sabbath you must do no work, you must occupy yourself only with praising the Lord. Amen!"

which is not, as a rule, very strictly observed among the Marranos; however, they do not eat meat on that day, and on Friday evening, they light a night-lamp which they leave burning all day.

The text of other prayers which have been submitted to me is very corrupt in its present form, because the prayers have passed from one illiterate generation to another still more illiterate. There are even some of which it is difficult to find out the original meaning, because those who say them do not understand them now. Mutilated words are repeated with persistent obstinacy, because they have been handed down in this form. Any reform with regard to this would be very difficult. The Marranos of the present day would not consent to change one iota in their ritual, which is already very much reduced. On Kippur Day, which is strictly observed—while Pesach is now unknown—the Marranos assemble together and pass the day in repeating incessantly, one after the other, all the prayers which they know.

Among the customs preserved, I will mention the following:—

When it thunders, a lamp is lighted.

When any one dies, there is a fast for the first seven days; the house of the deceased is considered as “entre-fada¹”; all the provisions which are found in it are thrown away. A fast of one day is held in the first, third, fifth, seventh, ninth, and eleventh months after the death; every Friday a poor person of the sex of the dead person is invited to breakfast. At the time of the Inquisition, the Marranos took care to prevent the Catholic priest from coming to confess and administer the last rites to the dying man; they took strong measures for this purpose: when the death struggle began, and the end was clearly near, they stifled (*abafavam*), the sick person. Authori-

¹ This word is not classical Portuguese; it belongs to the Jewish-Portuguese dialect, and comes from *חרף*, ignoble.

ties of high standing¹ assert that this custom has not yet entirely disappeared in the North of Portugal, where the *abafadores*, suffocators, were formerly very numerous and formed a kind of sect.

The Marranos are now very few in number at Porto and Lisbon, where one of them has had himself circumcised; many more are found at Covilhã, Fundão, and Bragança. At Covilhã, ten families still assemble for Kippur. They all have a tendency to intermarry only among themselves. On the other hand, many descendants of Jews have abandoned all Jewish worship and have become good Catholics. They do not forget their origin, however, and Mr. E. N. Adler has met two of them in a single visit to the Bibliotheca Nacional of Lisbon². One of the most famous descendants of the Jews, M. José Marcellino de Sa' Vargas, was minister in the reign of Dom Luiz I; his family came originally from Chacim, and was connected with that of the well-known Parisian bankers, Émile and Isaac Pereire.

When one sees an attempt to re-establish the Mosaic Law among the Jews of Kai-feng-fu, one asks oneself if the same work could not be undertaken, with more success, among the small groups of New Christians in the North of Portugal. The greatest obstacle would be, as in China³, the circumcision of adults. On the other hand, the law⁴ punishes by an imprisonment of one or two years, any one who attempts to make proselytes for any other than the State religion, Catholicism. It deprives the Portuguese

¹ M. Lino d'Assumpção, Inspector-General of the libraries and archives of Portugal, has kindly authorized me to say that he has recently been informed of the existence at the present day of the *abafadores*, or suffocators, by a public prosecutor at Bragança. Also M. P. C. Vieira mentions the existence of this custom a few years ago at Covilhã (*A Nação*, 17 de Set. de 1889).

² *Jewish Quarterly Review*, XIII, pp. 426 and 430.

³ *Jewish Chronicle*, August 15, 1902, p. 10.

⁴ *Código penal aprovado por decreto de 16 de setembro de 1886* (Lisboa, 1886, 8°), art. 130 and 135.

who publicly renounces this religion, of all political rights for twenty years. It is certain, however, that this law is never put in force¹, but it remains in the Portuguese code, just as the Act of Parliament of 1698, which punishes apostate Christians with imprisonment, still remains in the English code². Besides, tolerance in matters of religion is very great in Portugal, as we shall be able to prove.

III.

Re-establishment of the Jewish Religion.

The non-converted Jews were expelled in 1496, and they were forbidden to reside in Portugal on pain of death³. Nevertheless, there have always been some Jews passing into Portugal, generally from Morocco. The Cortes has repeatedly demanded their expulsion⁴. The proof that, in spite of these measures, there were some Jews in Portugal, is that João III, by an edict of February 7, 1537, ordered them to wear a special badge. João IV, the first Bragança, elected in 1640, seems to have been under obligations to them and to have tolerated them tacitly⁵. The report of this went even as far as Mexico⁶. When England became the mistress of Gibraltar, it was agreed by Article 10 of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, that she would not receive the Jews in that town, but they were allowed, notwithstanding, to establish themselves

¹ The Protestants have made and are still making proselytes in Portugal without great inconvenience.

² H. S. Q. Henriques, *The Jews and the English Law*, in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, XIII, pp. 275-7.

³ J. Mendes dos Remedios, *Os Judeus em Portugal* (Coimbra, 1895, 8°), documento IX, p. 432.

⁴ Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, *Ms. portug.*, 62, f°. 117^{ro}, *Capitulos geraes apresentados a El Rey nas Cortes de Torres Novas de 1525, e nas de Evora de 1531*, cap. 180.

⁵ Lindo, *History of the Jews of Spain and Portugal*, ch. xxxi, p. 375.

⁶ *Relacion del tercero auto particular de fee que el Tribunal del Santo Officio de la . . . Nueva España celebró . . . 30 de março de 1648*, f°. 42^{ro}, no. 12 (Mexico, 1648 in 8°).

there¹. Under the name of English subjects, they could then go to Portugal, where various treaties permitted the English to practise their religion freely but in privacy. In 1801, the Jews obtained a small piece of ground in the English cemetery da Estrella at Lisbon.

The tombs bore either a Hebrew inscription or an inscription in Hebrew and Portuguese. Five graves may still be seen, of which one is a child's. The oldest bears the following epitaph² in both languages:—

מצבת בהר יסף אמזאלכ
נע יום 15 לאדר ש"
תקסד לפ"ק

AQUI . IAS . IOZE . AMZALAGA QUE MORREU EM XXVI
D FEUEREIRO D 1804.

In 1810 attention was called to the important firms of Moses Levy Aboale and Co., and Manuel Cardoso and Co. The Jews had rendered Portugal a great service by introducing corn there during a recent famine³. Three years after (1813), Rabbi Abraham Dabella founded a synagogue at Lisbon, in the alley Da Linheira, under the name of שער השמים, Gate of Heaven⁴, which is also the name of the old Sephardic Community of London. It is said that in 1820 João VI officially allowed the Jews to settle in Lisbon⁵. What is more certain is that on February 16, 1821, deputy José Ferrão proposed a law to the Cortes, recalling all the Jews to Portugal. This law, however,

¹ Lindo, loc. cit., p. 350.

² Translation: "Tomb of the glorious Joseph Amzalak. He rested in Eden on the 15th of Adar in the year 564 according to the short mode of reckoning (5564).—Here lies Joseph Amzalaga, who died on the twenty-sixth of February, 1804." The Portuguese text is in a single line, the tomb measuring 8 ft. by 3 ft. 8½ inches.

³ Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, 336.

⁴ *A Justiça e a synagoga Hes-Haïm de Lisboa*, pp. 4 and 5 (Lisboa, 1869, 8°, p. 16).

⁵ Lindo, loc. cit., p. 377.

contrary to what has been written on the subject¹, was never put to the vote². The discussion of the above-mentioned constitution of 1822 does not enlighten us as to whether a Portuguese has the right to belong to any other than the Catholic religion. This discussion was incoherent³. Besides, as Oliveira Martins says⁴, "the hundred deputies who were the authors of the laws, were the only ones to understand them, granting that they did understand them."

Article 6 of the constitution of 1826, according to which Portugal is ruled at the present day, is thus worded: "The Apostolic and Roman Catholic religion will continue to be the religion of the kingdom. *All other religions* will be allowed to *foreigners*, with their domestic or private observance in houses intended for the purpose, but without the outward form of places of worship."

It seems then that foreigners only are at liberty not to belong to the Catholic religion in Portugal. However, § 4 of article 145 of the said constitution declares concerning the rights of the Portuguese: "No one may be prosecuted on account of religion, provided that he respects that of the State, and does not offend against public morality."

It may be gathered from the above extracts, that a foreign Jew may, in every case, perform the rites of his religion in a house without the outward appearance of a place of worship. Moreover, it would be an insult to the National Religion to practise any other publicly⁵.

However that may be, Salomão Mor José in 1826 founded a second synagogue at Lisbon in the Travessa da Palha⁶.

During the reign of Dom Miguel I (1828 to 1834) no

¹ Kayserling, loc. cit., 337.

² *Diário das Cortes*, vol. I, No. 17.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. III, 3, 6, and 8 agosto 1821, pp. 1771, 1798, and 1818.

⁴ *História de Portugal*, vol. II, l. vii. 3, p. 217.

⁵ *Código Penal*, art. 130, § 4º.

⁶ *A Justiça e a synagoga*, p. 4.

notice seems to have been taken of the Jews. However, we see that Levy Bensabath—who began, towards 1823, the export trade in cork—struggled against the absolute government of Dom Miguel; he was even arrested, and only owed his liberty to the intervention of the English consul at Lisbon, who protected him, as a native of Gibraltar. The son of Levy, Marcos Bensabath, took a still greater part in the struggle against Dom Miguel, and became an officer in a regiment of light infantry¹.

March 20, 1833, in the presence of the notary Feliciano José da Silva Seixas, of Lisbon, Antonio de Castro, a nobleman of the king's household, made over to Abraham de José Pariente, merchant, English subject, a plot of ground situated at Estrella, at an annual rent of 4,000 reis; this plot of ground was to serve as a "cemetery for the said Abraham, his descendants and other persons²."

As a matter of fact, it was only a question of making regular a state of affairs which had long existed. The piece of land granted is No. 6 of the rua da Estrella, and is no other than the old Jewish cemetery, now closed! It has a gloomy appearance, the ground being entirely without vegetation. All the tombs, 150 or thereabouts in number, are turned towards the East—with the exception of three graves at the end which are turned towards the North—and consist of horizontal stones, slightly raised above the ground; they are quite unornamented, without even the Levitic or sacerdotal signs כהנים. The inscriptions are generally in Hebrew, rarely in Hebrew and Portuguese, very exceptionally in Portuguese only. The oldest grave seems to be that of Samuel Brudo, who died November 4,

¹ Innocencio da Silva, *Diccionario bibliographico portuguez*, vol. X, p. 110 vº, *Jacob Bensabath* (Lisboa, 1883, in 8º). Levy Bensabath saved the life of the archbishop of Elvas, Athouguia.

² Archives of the Jewish Committee of Lisbon. The rent is still paid by this committee. I am anxious to express my thanks here to MM. L. Amzalak and Anahory, who were kind enough to show me the documents of these archives. I am also indebted for much information to Professor José Benoliel.

1815. The tombs of earlier date than 1833 are numerous.

In the south wall, a white marble slab is inserted, measuring 2 ft. $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 2 ft. 3 inches, on which may be read :

IN THIS

בית עולם

AND NEAR THIS SPOT

REPOSE THE MORTAL REMAINS OF

SOLOMON SOLOMON

יצחק ב'כ' ישראל הלוי

NATIVE OF FALMOUTH, ENGLAND

WHO DIED AT LISBON 25TH SHEBAT 5579—20TH FEB. 1819.

AND IN THIS ב'ע' ALSO REPOSE

THE MORTAL REMAINS OF

PHILIP SAMUEL

NATIVE OF WARSAW, POLAND ;

WHO DIED AT LISBON IN THE YEAR 5581 OR 82.

ESTE QUADRO MEMORIAL FOI

FEITO PELOS DOUS FILHOS DE

SOLOMON SOLOMON

NO ANNO DE 5635, E.V. 1875

EM CONSEQUENCIA DE SE TEREM OBLITERADO

AS INSCRIPÇÕES PRIMITIVAS.

Translation :—This commemorative tablet was made through the care of the two sons of Solomon Solomon in the year 5635=1875, because the original inscriptions had become obliterated.

As we have seen, the Jewish cemetery of the rua da Estrella existed in actual fact long before it was officially acquired.

Let us return, however, to the chronicle of Judaism in Portugal.

In 1845, Queen Dona Maria II made Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid baron of Palmeira¹. On the death of Rabbi Abraham Dabela (1853), his synagogue was managed by a committee composed of MM. Leão Amzalak, Levy Bensabath, Abraham Cohen, Fortunato Naure, Mair and Moisés Buzaglo; the private synagogue of the Travessa da Palha was directed by M. Moisés Anahory, who transferred it to the rua do Crucifixo, on the death of Salomão Mor José, and finally to the alley Dos Apostolos². In the meanwhile, the two congregations united, owing to the efforts of MM. Isaac Cardozo and Abraham de Esther Levy; the first synagogue alone remained in existence now. This state of things did not last long; in 1860, the new synagogue in the alley Dos Apostolos was founded; it was rented in the name of a Jewish congregation³, and, I think, under the title of עץ חיים, *Tree of Life*. The position of this synagogue has since been changed, but it is still the principal synagogue of Lisbon. There is another less important, called *Hes-Haim* 2^d.

While the events which I have related were taking place, the community of Lisbon summoned Rabbi Jacob Toledano of Tangier, who died in 5659, and whose tomb bears the titles of החכם השלם והכולל. This tomb is found in the new בית חיים of Lisbon⁴, the history of which is interesting.

On the thirtieth of March, 1865, in the presence of the notary João Baptista Seola, of Lisbon, Joaquim de Oliveira sold a plot of ground situated in this town to "Joaquin Bittancourt⁵, Josuah Levy, Moses Amzalak, Marcos Auday,

¹ Lindo, *History of the Jews in Spain and Portugal*, p. 377; Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, p. 338.

² *A Justiça e a synagoga*, pp. 5 and 6; the author of this pamphlet says (p. 6), that Salomão Mor José died in 1854; the tomb of this Rabbi in the old Jewish cemetery of Lisbon bears the date of ה'רכ"א or 1861.

³ *A Justiça e a synagoga*, pp. 6, 10, and 12.

⁴ Cemetery of the Calçada das Lagas.

⁵ It is one of the forms of the French name Bethencourt.

Salom Bensaude, Mayer Levy Blumberg, and M. de S. Saruya, all inhabitants of this town, and all of the Jewish religion¹." But for interments in this ground to be legal, an authorization from the Government was necessary. This was obtained, October 30, 1868—an important date, for it was, in a manner, that of the official recognition of the Jewish community of Lisbon. By a decree (*alvará*) countersigned by the Bishop of Vizeu, minister, King Dom Luiz I granted "to the Jews of Lisbon permission to construct a cemetery for the burial of their co-religionists²."

Another document has, since that time, confirmed the legal existence of the Jewish religion in Portugal; an *alvará* (decree) of the Civil Government of Lisbon ratified, June 30, 1892, the definite constitution of the hebra, נחלות חסדים³. This association has the following aims: to give the assistance of religion to every Jew who is ill; to take upon itself the care of the cemeteries and the burial of all the Jews in the kingdom, even if they are passing visitors⁴; to take charge of the savings bank of the poor, which is yet self-managing; to keep the registers of the deaths, marriages and births⁵. The society was definitely established March 27, 1892, in the course of a meeting presided over by M. Simeão Anahory, assisted by MM. Leão Amzalak and José Cardozo, secretaries.

On the seventeenth of Ab, 5660 (August 12, 1900), the community of Lisbon united under the presidency of M. R. Simeão Anahory, assisted by M. Judah Benoliel, vice-president, and MM. Moysés de S. Bensabath and Moysés

¹ Archives of the Jewish Committee of Lisbon.

² Ibid.

³ *Estatutos da Associação Gemilut Hassadim, irmandade Israelita de soccorros mutuos na hora extrema e funeraes*, Lisboa, 1892, 8º, p. 21.

⁴ It is for this reason that in a corner of the new cemetery, the tomb of a stranger may be seen, whose body was found on the shore, and who was supposed to be a Jew.

⁵ Extracts from these registers are acknowledged to be authentic by the Government of Portugal, where the State is in the hands of the clergy.

Azancot, secretaries. A plan of complete organization was adopted, which, however, has not yet received the sanction of the Government.

The Kehila of Lisbon will include all the orthodox Jews, both Sephardim and Ashkenazim, having at their head a committee (Mahamad), consisting, in 1902, of MM. Leão Amzalak, president; José Cardozo and Isaac Azulay, secretaries; Salomão de M. Sequerra, treasurer, and twelve other members.

Article 31 of this scheme of organization may be quoted. The following is the translation: "If the Portuguese Jews disappear from this town and from the whole kingdom, the German Jews who are here at that time may take under their care and for their own use the synagogues, estates, portable objects, and other articles of value in the possession of the Portuguese at the time or accruing later, but shall restore the whole to the Portuguese congregation if it is re-established."

But this hypothetical disappearance is improbable; the Kehila of Lisbon is full of vitality. It numbers at the present day about 400 persons, natives of Gibraltar, Morocco or the Azores, most of them ship-owners and merchants¹. There are several professors, however, who should be mentioned: MM. Alfred Benarus, an old pupil of the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris; Bensaude, professor at the Industrial Institute; Joseph Benoliel, professor at the "Marques de Pombal" Industrial School, who conducted a course of Hebrew in 1888 at the Curso superior de Letras, and is the author of several works, among them a curious translation of Camões and of Loqman².

Among the members of the community of Lisbon I must

¹ Kayserling, loc. cit., p. 337, was wrong in speaking of from five to six hundred families.

² Camões, *Ines de Castro, Episode des Lusiades: Translation into Hebrew verse* by Joseph de M. Benoliel (Lisboa, 1892, 8°, p. 24). *Fabulas de Loqman, vertidas em portuguez e paraphraseadas em verços hebraicos* por José Benoliel (Lisboa, 1898, 8°). A peculiarity of these translations is that all the words used are biblical.

mention again MM. Jacob Bensaude, author of numerous grammatical works, appointed Professor of English at the Collège du Porto by a decree of November 5, 1880; Salamão Saragga, a distinguished Hebraist; Dr. Raoul Bensaude, a former student at the hospitals of Paris, and consulting physician to the King of Portugal, &c., officiates as rabbi at Lisbon; there is a hazan, M. Levy Ben Simon of Jaffa.

A boys' school has been established at Lisbon as well as a *Cosinha Economica Israelita*, a *kasher* restaurant; it is proposed to found an asylum for Jewish travellers. The *kasher* restaurant distributed 2,390 meals in 1901; it is managed by the Benevolent Society *Somej Nophlim*, founded thirty-seven years ago¹.

But the principal work of the Kehila is the erection of a synagogue, for those which exist now are only modest rooms.

The first stone of this synagogue, called שַׁעַר תִּקְוָה, Shaare Tikvah (Gates of Hope), was only laid on the eighteenth of Tyar, 5662 (May 25, 1902), in the presence of a large number of spectators². The plan was made by M. Vicente Terra, an architect of Lisbon. A committee of ladies³ and a committee of men⁴ have been formed for the building of the new synagogue. The old Sephardic community of London, which is connected by so many bonds with Portugal, has also a committee⁵ in communication with those of Lisbon.

A few years ago a municipal councillor of Lisbon, the Vicomte de Rio Sado, a great "protector of animals," asked in vain for the prohibition of the *Shechita*. His request was refused by the minister Thomas Ribeiro, and in the

¹ *O Seculo*, 26 de março de 1902.

² In accordance with the law, the synagogue will be situated in an enclosure without any outward sign of a place of worship.

³ Mesdames E. Abecassis Seruya, E. Cohen Sequerra, R. Levy Azancot, R. Cardozo Anahory, Benoliel Levy, and D. Benoliel de Levy.

⁴ MM. A. Anahory, M. Seruya, Levy Azancot, S. Cagi, and J. Pinto.

⁵ The Rev. Haham Dr. Gaster, president; Joshua M. Levy, treasurer; Simon Seruya and E. N. Adler, members.

slaughter-house of Lisbon the Jews have a special place, *Matança para Israelitas*.

I may mention here a curious trace in the popular Portuguese language of old and now unconscious antisemitism ; to signify that a man is " base, despicable, without moral worth," he is called *safardano*. M. Theophile Braza lately pointed out this word to me, which he derives from Sepharad, סְפָרַד.

Outside Lisbon only one other Kehila exists in Portugal, that of Faro, which numbers fifteen families with a synagogue and a hazan. The Jews enjoy much consideration there ; in 1893, for instance, there were public rejoicings and a great banquet to celebrate the circumcision of the son of M. Abraham Amram ¹.

Fanaticism has not, however, entirely disappeared yet ; it has been said quite recently that the Jews of Faro seek to obtain Christian blood, and pass their time in the synagogue in " breaking up wooden crosses with blows of hammers ² "—accusations which are purely and simply absurd.

The number of Jews in Faro was much greater in former years ; the death of the aged, the emigration of the young to Lisbon, the absence of new-comers in consequence of the stagnation of trade, all cause the dwindling of the community of Faro ³. This community was established towards 1820, the year when the cemetery was bought. In 1830 it had a *minyan* (a congregation of ten adult males), and from that time a minister of religion (*chazan*) ; services were held in a house which was bought for that purpose by the congregation. In 1850 a new synagogue was established in the house of M. Joseph Siseu. Ten years after services were established by M. Samuel Amram in

¹ *Diário Popular*, September 25, 1893.

² *A Nação*, 14 de set. de 1889.

³ I wish to thank here M. Joaquin Rosa Bernado, resident of Lisbon, and M. David Sabath, chemist at Faro ; it is to their kindness that I owe the information which I give on the kehila of Algarve. The inscription quoted here was copied by M. Sabath, and I have only changed the last word of the third line.

another house. The two synagogues have always existed since then. Twenty-five years ago the cemetery was enclosed with walls. The following inscription found at Faro some years ago was placed there:—

ביום חמשי ששה עשר יום

לשבט שנת חמשת אלפים

וחמש ושבעים נפטר הנכבד

ר יוסף בן טום נ"ב ב"ת ובקבר בקבר זה

Translation: "On Thursday, the 16th of Shebat, 5075 (1315), died the glorious Rabbi Joseph Ben Tom. May he rest in peace. He was buried in this grave."

This is a precious relic of the past of this Kehila, which was, in the fourteenth century, the head quarters of one of the seven great Jewish districts of Portugal.

A few Jews are found at Evora, Lagos and Porto, but their numbers are too small for common worship.

Lastly, at São Miguel (Azores), there is an old Kehila, which has supplied that of Lisbon with distinguished members, but it tends to disappear; it was found necessary to send some young men there lately to make *minyán*. It is a mistake to trace to the fourteenth century the origin of this community¹, which dates from the eighteenth century.

On the whole, the condition of Judaism in Portugal is not bad: antisemitism is unknown there; the population have no hostile feeling against the Jews; they even delight in doing justice to the uprightness of their lives and their incomparable activity.

CARDOZO DE BETHENCOURT.

¹ *Jewish Chronicle*, November 26, 1880.